

Murder Traumatizes Beirut Campus

After President's Death, College Fears Loss of U.S. Faculty

By Bradley Graham
Washington Post Service

BEIRUT — The murder of Malcolm Kerr, president of the American University of Beirut, has traumatized U.S. academics at the school, some of whom are now considering leaving, and has brought worries about future difficulties in recruiting top American teachers and administrators.

The assassination last Wednesday has also spawned fears that the university, among the most eminent educational institutions in the Middle East, will be unable to avoid being drawn into, and eventually destroyed by, the polarization of sectarian forces in Lebanon.

Several senior faculty members expressed concern that the school would suffer a "slow strangulation" as frightened American teachers withdrew, talented academics abroad shunned invitations to come and Christian and Moslem political forces battled for influence over appointments, curricula and student affairs.

In a city already numbered by years of combat and terror, the attack on Mr. Kerr, 52, has nonetheless stunned many residents who regard it as a sign that extremist elements have begun to target U.S. civilians with no military or diplomatic links.

An unidentified caller telephoned the French news agency *Agence France-Presse* after the attack and said that Islamic Jihad had claimed the killing. The group has taken responsibility for the October attacks on U.S. and French forces in Lebanon. Islamic Jihad is thought to be an extremist Shiite Moslem faction with ties to Iran.

Mr. Kerr, a noted Middle East scholar, was remembered by faculty members for trying to keep the American University out of the mean swirl of Lebanese politics. But associates said that since he

arrived in the summer of 1982, Mr. Kerr was under pressure from the Christian Phalangist-backed Lebanese government.

When he arrived, Mr. Kerr was held in deep suspicion by the Phalangists, who regarded him as pro-Palestinian and Marxist. Those suspicions evidently remained despite his efforts to appear moderate and even-handed in his dealings with conflicting power groups.

Several faculty members portrayed Mr. Kerr as fending off demands by the Phalangists to purge the university of people with Palestinian backgrounds and to give Christian groups a greater role in student government. Some of the foreigners on the faculty ran into visa difficulties, a situation that some suspected was related to the political pressures on Mr. Kerr.

Such a background of events suggests that Mr. Kerr and the university were in danger of getting more openly embroiled in Lebanese politics than appeared on the generally tranquil surface of life at the school.

The assassination brought home the threat of violence to the 50 or so Americans on the 485-member faculty.

"For years this place lived under a 'golden ghetto' syndrome," said Peter Frank, who teaches finance at

the business school. "That pretense of being protected has been shattered. The institution will go on but it will lose its attraction for Americans."

As Americans think about fleeing, other faculty members worry that U.S. financial support for the school will drop. The American University now receives funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development as well as contributions from Middle East governments and various business and private sources and foundations.

Two Americans determined to stay are Neff Walker and Jennifer Bryce, social scientists who arrived in October from the University of New Hampshire. They have been impressed by the school's facilities, by the opportunity for research and by the challenge of just surviving in Beirut.

"We wanted to live overseas," said Miss Bryce. "We wanted some new experiences. I'd rather study the stress of families here than how parents should deal with the effects of television on their kids, as I was doing in the States."

But she added that her decision to settle in Beirut has been hard on relatives back home. "When I ask, 'Is it worth staying?' what I mean most is whether it is worth having my family go bananas back home," she said.

Allies Weigh Soviet Role In Exit From Lebanon

By Jim Hoagland
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Deepening pessimism over the efforts to form a new broadly based government in Lebanon is forcing the United States and its European allies to consider seeking Soviet acquisition in arranging a face-saving exit for the multinational force now stationed in Beirut.

The Reagan administration appears to be uncertain about the prospects for obtaining any measure of Soviet approval for replacing the four-nation force with a

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United Nations unit in Beirut, and is sending mixed signals about its willingness to explore an accommodation with Moscow.

But European diplomats think that there are now hints from Soviet officials that Moscow may be less negative about discussing American and European efforts to extricate the forces they have committed to Lebanon without suffering a humiliating loss in credibility.

France and Italy appear to be increasingly focusing on the formation of a UN force for Beirut as an alternative to pinning all hopes on the efforts of President Amin Gemayel of Lebanon to form a government of national reconciliation.

French officials are now, in essence, reconciled to a policy of minimizing Western losses in Lebanon while working to preserve longer-term Western interests throughout the remainder of the Middle East.

Italy's foreign minister, Giulio Andreotti, indicated in a visit to Washington this month that Italy also believes the odds have shifted in the past four months against Mr. Gemayel, who is trying to get Syria and its allies to accept an end to the fighting in Lebanon.

Officially, France and Italy continue to share the hope that Mr. Gemayel can still succeed in getting sufficient internal support to permit the American, French, Italian and British troops in the multinational force to leave Lebanon under honorable conditions.

But there are increasingly clear divergences between Washington and the Europeans over how much

can be salvaged from a joint effort that has been undermined, in the French and Italian view, by Mr. Gemayel's slowness to come to terms with his adversaries, Syria's skillful manipulation of the situation and terrorist campaign that has succeeded in weakening public support in Western democracies for the multinational presence.

Britain, which has only about 100 men in the force of about 6,000 troops, appears to be playing a largely passive role in the growing debate about finding a honorable way out of Lebanon.

Suggestions that Moscow has a

role to play in determining the outcome of the conflict will widen the existing divergences, since Europe has traditionally been more ready than the United States to permit a Soviet role in the Middle East.

President Ronald Reagan encouraged those who advocate exploring some kind of trade-off with the Russians with a passage on the Middle East in his Jan. 16 foreign policy speech.

"The Soviets could help reduce tensions there instead of introducing sophisticated weapons into the area," Mr. Reagan said. "This would certainly help us to deal more positively with other aspects of our relationship."

It is still far from clear that the Soviet hints represent anything more than a maneuver to exploit any differences within the force.

But French analysts think that the Kremlin may see tactical advantages in not pushing the United States and its allies into a choice between humiliation and further escalation in Lebanon. The slight lessening of Soviet opposition to even discussing the subject followed Mr. Reagan's speech.

Subsequent, tougher statements by Secretary of State George P. Shultz on the Middle East damaged any optimism that Mr. Reagan's speech had brought, however.

By playing the key mediating role both in the exchange of prisoners between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel in November and in the subsequent evacuation of the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, and his guerrillas from Tripoli, Lebanon, France has positioned itself to act as a more important go-between in Middle East negotiations.

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Reagan to Propose Budget With a \$180-Billion Deficit

(Continued from Page 1)

budget and its deficit projections on the Congress and the financial markets is hard to predict. But as the 98th Congress reconvened Monday, it appeared that the best chance to reduce the deficit was to approve what is being called a down payment. This refers to the package of spending reductions and tax increases that were considered in the House and the Senate last year as part of the 1984 budget and have been carried over to the second session.

Congressional leaders do not expect any major spending reductions this year. The administration already withdrew one of its proposed cuts in Medicare, the health insurance for the elderly, because of opposition in Congress.

The remaining proposed reductions are in programs for the poor, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Medicaid, which provides medical assistance, and a series of domestic programs from Head Start to education. There are also proposed increases for programs from law enforcement and the space station to foreign aid and the U.S. Coast Guard.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., a Massachusetts Democrat, appears uninterested in tackling any major tax increase proposal at this year because of Mr. Reagan's opposition. "The president seems adamant about it," Mr. O'Neill said Monday, before the House went into session.

Some economists argue that because traders in the financial markets do not expect Congress to be able to act on spending or taxes in an election year, those markets have already reflected the expectation of continued high budget deficits.



French police officers in Brittany Tuesday removed tree trunks placed on rail lines by farmers angry with government policies on agriculture and transportation costs.

Protests Grow Over French Government's Industrial Policy

The Associated Press

PARIS — Farmers angry about prices and transportation costs blocked rail lines in Brittany Tuesday and shipyard workers threatened with layoffs marched through Paris as unrest built over the government's industrial and agricultural policies.

On Sunday about 60,000 people in Bordeaux protested the government's plans for private schools. Four other demonstrations were planned throughout France in the next few weeks.

Adding to President François Mitterrand's problems were the growing tension in Lorraine as the government struggled with restructuring the ailing steel industry, a plan that threatens more jobs, and similar problems in the northern coalfields.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said Monday that he would meet with farm union leaders, but the farmers refused Tuesday to call off their actions.

The Communist Party leader, Georges Marchais, has criticized the government's austerity and industrial restructuring policy.

He told a meeting of the Central Committee last week that the Communists would accept "no dismissals, not one more person on the dole." But he excluded the possibility of the Communists leaving the government.

Beijing Reportedly Cancels Drive To Eradicate 'Spiritual Pollution'

By Christopher S. Wren
New York Times Service

BEIJING — China's formal campaign against "spiritual pollution" has been effectively canceled, according to Chinese and Western diplomats here.

The campaign, which began after a plenary session of the Communist Party's Central Committee last October, was meant to combat unwelcome foreign values and trends. It sought to solve, as conservatives seized the opportunity to strike out against changes wrought by the recent economic policy shifts, including the open door policy of com-

panying with Western contacts. It had been imposed on the campaign since mid-November. One by one, articles in the press have exempted from the campaign such things as fashionable clothing, youthful aspirations for a better life, science and technology, religious belief, Western music, art and literary classics and economic prosperity, including commerce with the West.

There were reports of vigilantes in a few cities, such as Wuhan, forcibly shearing the hair and cutting the flared trouser bottoms of youths who looked too decadent in another city, according to one account, some young people donned red armbands, in imitation of the radical Red Guards in the Cultural Revolution, and went in

search of spiritual pollution on the streets.

There was also resistance to the drive, not only from some intellectuals who had survived the abuses of the Cultural Revolution but also from peasants who were prospering under the new agricultural system that rewarded them for producing more.

The campaign proved embarrassing abroad as well. Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang was questioned about it during his trip to the United States and Canada. Last Wednesday, Mr. Zhao said in Ottawa that "to say that there is an anti-West campaign in China now is not true. There is nothing of the sort." Western diplomats here pointed out that a succession of restrictions

had been imposed on the campaign since mid-November. One by one, articles in the press have exempted from the campaign such things as

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WORLD BRIEFS

in Channel, 16 days — At least 16 sailors were missing from a British Channel Tuesday. They were last seen over northern Britain in bad weather days.

Indonesian officers, died when their boat sank over 40-foot (12-meter) waves later recovered the bodies.

northern England for the fourth day from the rest of Britain since the storm since Saturday.

Refugee Payment Denied

Refugee who arranged the departure to West Germany neither sought nor received any help.

made the statement in an interview with West German newspapers had already paid for the release of the refugees.

West Berlin Sunday night, two days earlier Monday, to say that a paper

he had paid a number of times for

Refugee Shipment to U.S.

Swedish customs agents have seized U.S. optical equipment destined for Sweden.

spokesman said that exports should be considered military equipment material to the United States as it was advanced military equipment, which was impounded on the way to Sweden from the United States, then transported through France, then reaching Sweden. The computer was via South Africa and West Germany.

More Arrests in Spy Case

Norwegian attorney general says he is in the case of a high ranking Foreign Service official.

the ministry's press section, was seized by an Oslo court Monday. Mr. Treholt, a former German Tito, an official of the Vienna last Friday when he was arrested and documents. Mr. Treholt said he was asked on similar visits to hand over documents. Mr. Treholt said he was asked to maintain interests might have been damaged the KGB over several years, but that not

in Rioting in Kashmir

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's supporters in the northern region of Kashmir, India, in protests there to nearly 300 people.

the killing by police of nine members

any on Jan. 14 during a demonstration in the capital of Kashmir. Police said they tried to enter government buildings.

northern India, and arsonists among pro-independence supporters of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Minister Farooq Abdullah, has charged

the demonstrators to stir trouble

and the National Conference Party state

for several months ago.

Foreign Cash for Import

Nigeria's new military government is

of foreign currency on imports, banking

to banks set monthly spending on imports

(\$380 million). Two days ago, former President Shehu Shagari said

for import spending this year

part of a reform of import spending

away from the central bank, were made

use. They were reckoned to be the

needs to maintain necessary imports

and food and to keep major projects going

ment Accuses Lawyer

member of a police riot squad described

as underground dissidents in debt

to a lawyer who bribed him with \$2,000

Tuesday.

U.S. said the deal was arranged by

member of the board of the Police

on Jan. 11 before scheduled ap-

peal court cases.

news conference that the lawyer and

the banned Solidarity union and a

of deals. He said the deserter con-

attempted to steal a police radio

and security arrangements in the War-

ns' Tied to Editor's Death

A military indictment charged Tues-

day Pope John Paul II in 1981, killed

in 1979 on orders from figures linked to

the chief military prosecutor of the

public in the indictment involving

Mr. Ipekci on an Istanbul street.

Mr. Agca told investigators that figures

him to kill Mr. Ipekci because he was

about their criminal network and as a

term often used to describe per-

son dealing in illegal guns and drugs.

Crackdown on Bas

— Schools, banks and shops in the

Tuesday in a strike called to protest

by security forces. Local police said

in a municipal policeman, were de-

the region in the past few days, and ge-

as were arrested in Tokyo earlier. The

having links with the guerrilla move-

ment, bombings and kidnappings in the

and

its ambassador to Italy, Ammar al-

Tuesday at a Rome hospital. Mr. Ta-

men and shoulder on Saturday, and

group calling itself Al Borkan de-

at the East-bloc trade group, known as

Economic Assistance, is preparing for

in Doha with the speaker of the

Al Thani, Mr. Arifat, the leader of the

was beginning a tour that will also see

other political leaders and Pope John

Paul II, is scheduled to leave for

southern Africa issues have been

secretary of state for African affairs

from Cape Verde: Mr. Wisner de-

No. 2 Justice Official Will Leave Department With Attorney General

By Mary Thornton
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Deputy Attorney General Edward C. Schmitz, the No. 2 official at the Justice Department who has been praised by many in the administration and in Congress for his stewardship of day-to-day operations, has joined his boss in announcing plans to leave the administration.

Mr. Schmitz disclosed his decision Monday, the same day President Ronald Reagan had announced that he would nominate Edwin Meese 3d, the presidential counselor, to replace William French Smith as attorney general.

Mr. Schmitz said he had decided six weeks ago to accept a job with a private corporation in Connecticut. He said Mr. Smith had asked him not to announce his departure until Mr. Smith had made his own decision.

Mr. Smith, 66, a multimillionaire lawyer who has long been a Reagan adviser, summed up his tenure at a news conference Monday, saying: "I'm not aware of any previous administration that has made as many changes in policy and organization as the Justice Department as we have in the last three years."

"There certainly is more to be done," he added.

Among his achievements, Mr. Smith listed:

- Bringing the Federal Bureau of Investigation into the war against drug forces.

- Opposing mandatory school busing and racial hiring quotas as remedies for racial discrimination.

- Stepping up the collection of debts owed the federal govern-

"I think his philosophy is bad," he added.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., a Massachusetts Democrat, said: "There is no question that as attorney general Meese will portray the philosophy of the president. They both drink at the same fountain."

At the same time, Mr. Meese is

being considered for the nomination to the Supreme Court.

The Senate majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr., a Tennessee Republican, said he had told President Reagan he would support Mr. Meese and start the confirmation machinery as soon as the nomination was sent to the Senate. But he warned that he could not gauge how heavy the opposition would be.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Energizing U.S. Justice

The resignation of Attorney General William French Smith gives President Reagan a chance to fill a leadership void at the Department of Justice. Edwin Meese may fill the void, but he is not likely to do much to improve the quality of justice. From his perch as White House counselor, Mr. Meese has already moved into the vacuum at Justice, supporting and sometimes directing some of the department's most offensive actions.

Mr. Smith began his tenure ignorant about issues of law and public policy — and gave little evidence of any effort to improve his understanding. His hands-off administration gave free rein to maneuverers that set back the cause of fair, open government.

The most notable failure was on civil rights. Mr. Smith stood by while his Civil Rights division, with Mr. Meese's encouragement, gave tax breaks to racist schools. Unwilling to yield membership in clubs closed to women, Mr. Smith let his civil rights lawyers argue for watered-down laws against sex discrimination in colleges.

Oblivious to the consensus for a strengthened new Voting Rights Act, Mr. Smith mused his friend the president into resisting improvements until Mr. Reagan was virtually shamed into endorsing them. Indifferent to a concerted assault on open government, the attorney general permitted zealots to forge ahead with plans for censorship, lie detectors, and con-

stricting the Freedom of Information Act. Mr. Smith gave speeches denouncing judicial activism yet sued, quixotically, to keep the House of Representatives from enforcing a contempt citation against the head of the Environmental Protection Agency. He tolerated an embarrassing superficial investigation of scandal at that agency.

To his credit, Mr. Smith asserted himself constructively on one issue, immigration reform. Yet where was the attorney general even on this issue when the budget director, David Stockman, belatedly raised exaggerated claims of excessive cost?

The choice of Mr. Meese, who has a serious background in law enforcement, augurs for an increase in the Justice Department's energy level. What remains uncertain is whether he will raise the level of legal statesmanship as well. In his White House post, Mr. Meese has tried to gut the moderate, widely admired program of legal services for the poor. He has denounced the American Civil Liberties Union, which has differed responsibly over anti-crime policy, as "an ongoing lobby opposed to law enforcement."

A president usually gets the attorney general he wants. We wish Mr. Reagan had wanted a stronger first attorney general. May the second prove more statesmanlike at the Justice Department than he did at the White House.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Syria Turns Up the Heat

"The United States is short of breath," Syria's foreign minister told a U.S. envoy recently, according to Secretary of State George Shultz. "You can always wait them out." It is true — at least in Lebanon. The Reagan administration's own partisans want to bring home the marines before Lebanon becomes an election-year drag. Congress, back from recess, will be ventilating the anxiety Americans feel and further weakening the administration in its attempt to improve the U.S. bargaining position by projecting a capacity to hold firm.

Now Syria simply "waiting the United States out." It is turning up the heat, hardening its negotiating demands, permitting its Lebanese clients to harder theirs and, again according to the secretary of state, "acquiescing" in Lebanon's "rising terrorism." So much for the Jesse Jackson afterglow.

Fighting for time, the administration is, prudently, scaling back its objectives. "It's important to show the world what we have resolved," Mr. Shultz said Sunday. "But we also have to pay attention primarily to our objectives there" and "make what contribution we can, mainly through diplomacy," to a "more stable

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Origins of the Specious

The Texas Board of Education has ruled that the biology textbooks used in the state's public schools need not mention Charles Darwin. It has doubts about the soundness of Mr. Darwin's theory of evolution.

That is a shame, because that theory explains and gives meaning to all modern biology. To learn biology without it would be as hard as trying to make sense of chemistry without Mendeleev's periodic table of elements. Mendeleev, of course, was Russian; maybe the Texas board will get around to excusing his name and work, too. And there is Einstein, a dangerous pacifist and freethinker, but they probably don't have to worry about him yet: He lived in the 20th century.

We should not be too hard on the board. Its members are not perniciously opposed to ideas or scientific knowledge or the light of comprehension. They have voted a conciliatory change. Instead of mentioning Darwin, biology

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

gy texts should list all the scientists who have won the Nobel Prize. That's right: No Darwin, but a list of trippers to Stockholm.

If Texans prefer to raise their children in the dark, why not let them? Because ignorance is contagious. To win the lucrative Texas market, publishers are willing to adulterate their textbooks. Doubleday's Laidlaw division publishes a textbook, "Experiences in Biology," that does not even mention the word evolution. Holt, Rinehart & Winston's "Modern Biology," the largest-selling biology textbook, now carries a third fewer words on evolution than 10 years ago, and shames itself with a Texas-required announcement that evolution is "theory rather than fact."

All of which demonstrates a fact, not a theory: Evolution can work both ways, and what is evolving now in Texas is more, not less, ignorance.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

The Riots in North Africa

Twice in recent days the rulers of relatively stable North African countries have been forced by violent unrest to call off plans to increase food prices. The economic position of Morocco is rather worse than Tunisia's, not least because it has been fighting a war for control of the Western Sahara. It has already called in the International Monetary Fund, which arranged a rescheduling of the heavy foreign debt on familiar conditions of draconian austerity, including the food price increases. If there is one lesson in the present troubles, it ought to be that the IMF's strict approach should not include interference in the price of basic foodstuffs.

— The Guardian (London).

FROM OUR JAN. 25 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1909: Hammerstein Is Assaulted

NEW YORK — Mr. Oscar Hammerstein had an unpleasant experience last night [Jan. 23] after dining at the Hotel Knickerbocker. While leaving the hotel, the impresario was attacked by two reporters of the New York "Press." Mr. James Doyle and Mr. Frederick Hall, who knocked him down, blackened his eyes and cut his nose and lips with their blows. Mr. Hammerstein caused the arrest of his assailants, who were paroled in the custody of Mr. C. M. Beattie, attorney for the "Press." The trooper was due to Mr. Hammerstein's sending a letter to the editor of the "Press" denouncing reporters of that paper. The two reporters demanded an apology, which, they declare, Mr. Hammerstein declined to make. Thereupon they decided to give him a sound thrashing.

— The Financial Times (London).

1934: China Fears Japanese Attack

GENEVA — Qualified Chinese sources in Geneva claim that Japan intends to strike in North China soon in a first move toward war with Russia. The Japanese, the state sources, are probably seeking for a pretext to move troops over the Great Wall of China, into China proper, thereby consolidating a strategic position for future action against the Soviet Union. The Chinese say the Japanese are gambling on handing Russia with their land and air forces, while the navy remains prepared to protect Japan against possible intervention by the United States. Because Japan wishes to remain dominant in the Far East, they must strike at China and Russia successively before either China or Russia succeeds in its national reconstruction program.

— The Financial Times (London).

Drifting Toward Cold War

By Seweryn Bialer

This is the second of two parts.

NEW YORK — Soviet foreign policy faces a serious dilemma in its drive for influence and power in the Third World. This drive has not been very successful.

Its major "victories" — as in Egypt and India — have proved temporary. The communist movements of Third World countries either rejected Soviet domination or were outflanked on the left; Soviet-bloc expenditures were no match for Western aid and trade, and did not seriously influence the politics of the recipient states; and the term "Marxist-Leninist" in many Third World states has served as a cover for personal dictatorship.

Well into Leonid Brezhnev's tenure, Soviet leaders began to recognize the temporary nature of their profits from "investments" in the Third World, and the rising potential costs. The Soviet Union did not abandon its efforts to achieve low-cost influence. Yet it probably decided that long-lasting power over Third World regimes can be attained only through a highly visible military presence in its client states.

This explains the Soviet pattern of military intervention of 1976-1979. I believe that this pattern of acquiring power through Soviet military intervention will prove very temporary. Yet the danger that this pattern will be repeated in the 1980s is quite high.

But a Soviet decision to risk the inevitable U.S. reaction with more Angolas and Ethiopias would have to be carefully premeditated. It would signify a Soviet calculation that relations with the United States cannot improve in the foreseeable future.

The Russians will also have to consider the economic costs of new interventionist policies. Already, the Soviet Union is cutting its subsidies to Eastern Europe and Cuba, even though the difficult economic situation in Eastern Europe can easily be translated into instability and unrest.

Because it is political, ideological, cultural, economic and technological resources are meager, the Soviet Union puts a premium on situations where arms and military intervention can be decisive. In the Third World, the use of military might has become the Soviet Union's only alternative to an ineffective foreign policy. But military intervention will prove very dangerous in the 1980s.

Another dilemma of Soviet foreign policy in the 1980s concerns the relationship between foreign policy and the internal legitimization of Soviet power — the degree to which the Soviet public and elites will accept and actively pursue the policies and national goals laid down by their leaders. This is crucially important.

A government can claim legitimacy in three ways — on the basis of legal rights, on the basis of performance and on the basis of tradition.

Obviously, Soviet leaders cannot seek legitimacy through a system of protected legal rights. But in the post-Stalin period, the leadership's legitimacy based on performance grew markedly as the system produced considerable material benefits for the populace. But the mainstay of legitimacy is provided by Russian nationalism disguised as Soviet patriotism.

In Brezhnev's last years, and at present, the legitimization of Soviet power through performance has visibly declined. In all probability it will decline even further. The standard of living has apparently stalled at a level far below the rising aspirations of many citizens.

It is unlikely that the continuing military buildup will help Soviet leaders make up for this loss in legitimacy. The stature of the armed forces seems to have declined precipitously. The new middle class and middle-aged workers now understand how military spending affects their standard of living. Continued growth of military power can only reinforce the regime's legitimacy if it has a purpose that the population endorses.

The Soviet population has always been ambivalent about the foreign adventures undertaken by its leaders. The leaders demonstrate that they understand this by limiting media coverage of the Soviet role in Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan.

This gloomy description of the dilemmas that Moscow faces leads to the surprising conclusion that a new Cold War is the best option available to the Soviet Union.

A new Cold War fulfills all the requirements necessary for popular and elite support. From the Soviet vantage point it is a defensive enterprise; it appeals to Russian patriotism and justifies the sacrifices necessary for the growth of military expenditures; it encourages a sense of community that makes it easier to demand unity and discipline.

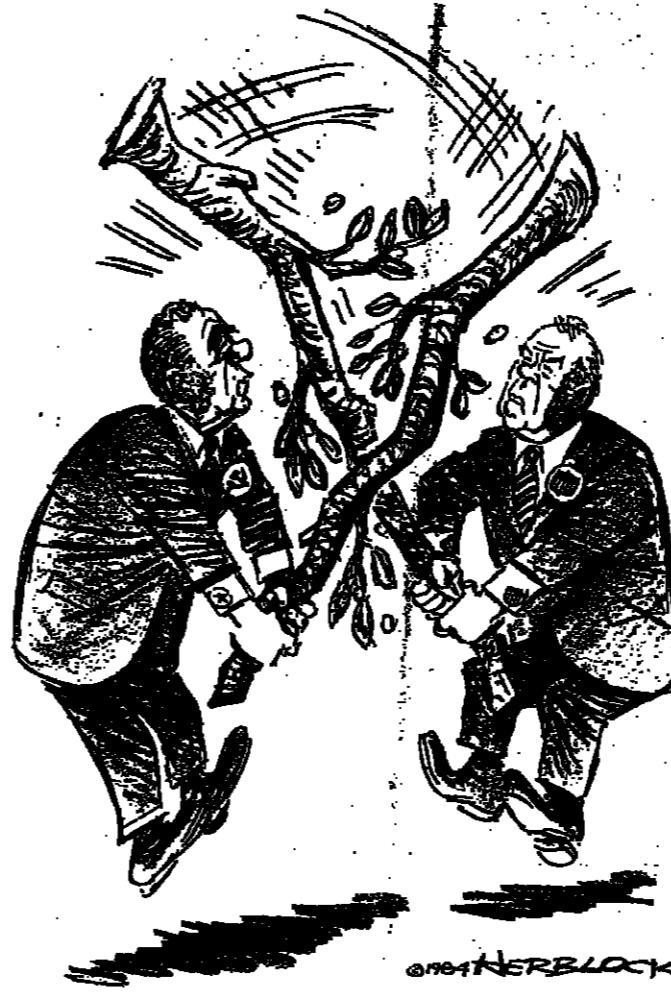
I am not arguing that, given a cost-free choice between détente with the United States and a Cold War, the Soviet Union would pick the latter. Détente, too, provides legitimacy.

Nevertheless, a Cold War situation can also reinforce the legitimacy of the Soviet regime. The regime can use a Cold War atmosphere to help explain away its failures.

But if a new Cold War would suit Soviet interests for the mid-1980s, it certainly does not suit Western interests. And the West has the power to influence, perhaps decisively, Soviet foreign-policy decisions.

The current U.S. administration lacks clearly defined goals in its Soviet policy. It wants to put the Russians on the defensive, but it does not explain what, concretely, it wants to achieve. Members of the administration appear satisfied that they have been successful, but they are discounting the dangers of the present state of Soviet-American relations.

The long-range danger is that of a runaway arms race which, in conditions of rapid technological progress,



OLIVE BRANCHES

Congress and Cynical

Editor

back into the negative box for the permanent members among Senate Republicans. The question is not whether they will vote majority but when. The date among them believe it will be no later than 1984.

The Democrats may be a bit more, but they display equal enthusiasm for taking on the tough issue of economic policy.

Most of those I have talked to think Mr. Reagan was fundamental in his economic policy.

They see no way to repeat it in a

economic recovery.

Most of them have strong differ-

ences with his foreign policy in the Middle East and Central America; but they fear to challenge the president head-on.

The mood is one of political indecision. Congress has rejected two Reagan budgets. It will probably do the same this year.

It is difficult to see where the mood or leadership to overcome the situation will come from. The United States deserves better.

The conservative branch, and its members demands that something be done soon.

There are two issues on which

reform might assert itself and

its honor.

The Senate has passed an immigration bill. It is far from perfect, but represents a reasonable compromise at regulating control of borders and offering amnesty to millions of illegal aliens who have lived in the United States for years.

The legislation poses tough political problems for House Democrats between pressures from unionized labor, the Hispanic community and industry. But a party claims to be ready to resume responsibility for the executive branch.

Senators Republicans have the opportunity on the question of the

Senate. They ought to rescue the party from the folly of its own government by cutting short its ambitions in their barracks on the Beruit front.

These two actions fall far short of Congress's responsibility — but might redeem its self-respect.

The Washington Post

Thousands in Manila Protest Marcos Regime, Urge Election Boycott

United Press International

MANILA — Thousands of protesters, some carrying banners demanding the "overthrow of the U.S.-backed Marcos regime" gathered in Manila's financial district Tuesday in the first major anti-government demonstration this year.

The 7,000 demonstrators chanted "boycott, boycott," in a reference to parliamentary elections May 14, the first electoral test for President Ferdinand E. Marcos since the Aug. 31 assassination of the opposition leader, Benigno S. Aquino Jr.

Opposition leaders have called for a boycott unless Mr. Marcos agrees to curtail his authoritarian powers.

Mr. Aquino's murder while in military custody after returning from three years of exile in the United States set off the worst anti-government demonstrations of Mr. Marcos' 18 years in power.

In a related development, Cardinal Jaime Sin, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Manila, warned that the boycott could lead to revolution.

"It would perpetuate those in power and it will boil down to a revolution later on," he said in an interview.

The demonstration came as a panel probing Mr. Aquino's murder banished the Communist Party chairman from the witness stand for refusing to admit leadership of the banned group.

José Maria Sison, 44, founder of the party, had been summoned to answer allegations that his party ordered Mr. Aquino's assassination.

Mr. Sison, who has been in jail since his capture in 1977, testified that he faced rebellion and subver-

sion charges and that an admission that he was the party chairman could incriminate him.

Military investigators have said that Mr. Aquino was shot to death by Rolando Galman, who the police say was a criminal and a Communist guerrilla. Mr. Galman was slain by guards at Manila International Airport moments after Mr. Aquino was killed.

Critics charge the military was involved in Mr. Aquino's death.

In a separate case, authorities refused bail Tuesday for two Roman Catholic missionaries, the Rev. Brian Gore, 40, of Perth, Australia, and the Rev. Niall O'Brien, 43, of Dublin, accused in the 1982 slayings of Mayor Pablo Zola and four of his aides near the town of Kabankalan.

There was no immediate announcement of a trial date.

The two priests are being kept in a guest house at a military stockade near the city of Bacolod on Negros Island.

Father Gore and Father O'Brien are among nine church workers charged last May with the March 1982 slayings.

The two missionaries, who worked on the island for more than 10 years, claim that powerful sugar barons framed them in an attempt to force them to leave the island.

The priests established communities for impoverished workers, and church officials said the plantation owners feared the peasants were being given a unified voice in labor and other disputes.

The others charged in the murder were all Filipinos, including six lay workers and one priest, the Rev. Vicente Dangan, who was granted bail Tuesday of \$2,857, according to the Rev. Nicholas Murray, superior of the Columbian Fathers.



HONG KONG TALKS — The governor of Hong Kong, Sir Edward Youde, left, was met by Britain's ambassador, Sir Richard Evans, when he arrived in Beijing Tuesday for the eighth round of talks on the future of Hong Kong. Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, was quoted by the Xinhua news agency Tuesday as

saying that it is now possible to resolve the issue of Hong Kong's return to Chinese control when Britain's lease runs out in 1997 in a manner acceptable to both parties.

Salvadoran Police Official Says Many Suspected in Death Squads Have Fled

By Jackson Diehl

Washington Post Service

pected of death-squad activity, and that all but three were civilians.

"All of them have been told they should leave the country," Colonel López Nuila said. "Some, perhaps the majority, have left." He did not disclose any names.

The police official's statement was the first public recognition by either U.S. or Salvadoran authorities of the number and official status of persons on the American list, which was turned over to the government in December. On a visit to San Salvador on Dec. 11, Vice President George Bush urged that those on the list be temporarily exiled.

Colonel López Nuila confirmed that three Salvadoran officers included on the list had been transferred to posts abroad. His assertions that civilians made up the rest of the list and that most had left the country were at odds with reports from Salvadoran human rights groups and other official sources, which have said that more police and military officers were on the list and that most had refused to leave the country.

U.S. officials said they had no comment on Colonel López Nuila's statement. There were reports that many of the civilians named had long been living outside of El Salvador.

The effects of these changes were not immediately visible. The Western source said that on Jan. 13 nearly 50 government troops were killed in an ambush by the insurgents near Kabul. He also reported a series of assassinations of party officials and government supporters in the capital last week.

Mexican Bus Crash Kills 15

The Associated Press

MEXICO CITY — Fifteen persons died and 11 were injured when a bus crashed through a guardrail and fell down a ravine in southern Mexico Monday, the Red Cross said.

The colonel said that a special investigative group was being orga-

nized "to deeply probe" the issue.

Of U.S. Embassy officials, he remarked pointedly that "up until this moment, they have provided only a list. But at no time have they presented proofs" that the persons on the list committed crimes.

■ Army Moves on Rebels

About 3,000 government troops opened two counterinsurgency drives against leftist guerrillas mounting an offensive in eastern El Salvador. United Press International reported Tuesday from San Salvador.

Led by the U.S.-trained Atonal Battalion, about 1,000 men moved out Monday in southeastern El Salvador, United Press International said. No contact with guerrillas was reported.

In adjacent San Miguel province, about 2,000 soldiers from the 3d Infantry Brigade and local security forces opened a sweep around the towns of Chapeltique, Moncagua and Sesori, the sources said.

The operation was backed by air force bombing and artillery, but no clashes were reported, they said.

On the Usulután front, government forces reached the town of Jucuarán, 70 miles (113 kilometers) southeast of San Salvador, but pulled out at midday, area residents said.

'Counter-Kissinger' Unit Calls For End of Military Aid to Central America

By Don Shannon

Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — A so-called Counter-Kissinger Commission, composed of scholars and former government officials, has called for an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador and other Central American nations, a cutoff of support for anti-Sandinist guerrillas in Nicaragua and normalization of relations with Cuba.

The group asserted Monday that the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America headed by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, presented on Jan. 11 a "prescription for disaster" in backing a military solution to the Salvadoran civil war and continued covert operations against the Nicaraguan government.

They asserted that the Reagan administration and Mr. Kissinger's group erred in seeing the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran civil wars as arenas of East-West conflict.

■ Kissinger Report Backed

An interagency task force led by the State Department has recommended that President Ronald Reagan seek approval of "nearly all" the proposals of the Kissinger commission. The Washington Post reported Monday. The proposals could cost nearly \$10 billion in economic and military aid over the next five years.

The group's report does not recommend the restoration of a program requiring that military aid to El Salvador be made conditional upon the certification of progress in human rights there, according to State Department officials.

Instead, an official said, it "interprets the Kissinger proposals in light of the administration position," which opposes any certification requirement.

Neither does it recommend a Central American Development Organization that would control a quarter of American and other donors' economic aid to the region, linking it all to human rights progress, as the Kissinger report wanted.

Instead, it calls for a regional discussion and planning organization under the same name.



Edward J. Daly

Edward J. Daly, World Airways Chairman, Dies

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

OAKLAND, California — Edward J. Daly, 61, chairman of World Airways, who built a shoe-string airline into a no-frills challenger to the air travel giants, died Saturday after a long illness.

Mr. Daly bought what became the basis for World Airways in 1950 with \$50,000, leasing two war surplus C-46 cargo transports. Later, he expanded into travel, leasing and other ventures. Today, the airline is authorized to haul cargo and passengers throughout much of the world.

■ Other deaths:

Rebecca Shelley, 97, a World War I pacifist who lost her U.S. citizenship for 22 years after marrying a foreigner, and whose cause was taken up by authors Sinclair Lewis and H.L. Mencken, of natural causes Saturday in Battle Creek, Michigan. In 1944, the Justice Department ordered that she be allowed to regain her citizenship without swearing to bear arms.

Charles Guy Fulke Greville, 72, the 7th Earl of Warwick, a wealthy British aristocrat, Friday in Rome.

SKY CHANNEL	
PROGRAM, WEDNESDAY 25th JANUARY	
G.M.T.	
17.00	CARTOON TIME
17.05	CABLE COUNTDOWN
18.05	FANTASY ISLAND
18.55	A TIME FOR DYING
20.05	WHITE ROCK
21.25	WAYNE & SHUSTER
BROADCASTING TO CABLE COMPANIES IN EUROPE & THE UK VIA SATELLITE.	
CONTACT FIONA WATERS AT SATELLITE TELEVISION FOR FURTHER INFORMATION TEL: LONDON (01) 438 0491 TELEX: 268943.	

Military Shake-up Reported in Afghanistan

New York Times Service

NEW DELHI — President Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan, apparently angered by continuing successes against his Soviet-supported regime, recently dismissed and replaced at least three top military officials, a Western diplomatic source said here Tuesday.

There has been no official announcement about the shakeup, but the diplomatic informant said that reports from the region Sime Darband, about the dismissals were accepted as accurate in diplomatic circles.

The list of dismissals was headed by General Babrak, the army chief of staff, who was retired and replaced by Lieutenant General Nizam Muhammed, the source said. He added that General Nizam is the former commander in chief of the Afghan Air Force and is regarded as "capable of whipping the Afghan military into shape."

The Afghan Army strength is estimated at about 30,000 men, about one third of its size when the battle between Afghanistan's first Marxist government and the Moslem insurgents began in 1978.

Arabs experts say that the sharp drop in number of soldiers has been caused by desertions, heavy casualties and a failure to attract enough able-bodied men to the front.

The other two military appoint-

ments reported by the Western source were those of Major General Mohammed Nabi Azimi as deputy defense minister and Major General Ghulam Qadir Miakhel as army chief of operations. General Azimi filled a post that had been vacant for nearly one year after its previous occupant, General Khalilullah, was suspended. General Miakhel succeeded General Nuristani.

The effects of these changes were not immediately visible. The Western source said that on Jan. 13 nearly 50 government troops were killed in an ambush by the insurgents near Kabul. He also reported a series of assassinations of party officials and government supporters in the capital last week.

U.S. officials said they had no comment on Colonel López Nuila's statement. There were reports that many of the civilians named had long been living outside of El Salvador.

The colonel said that a special investigative group was being orga-

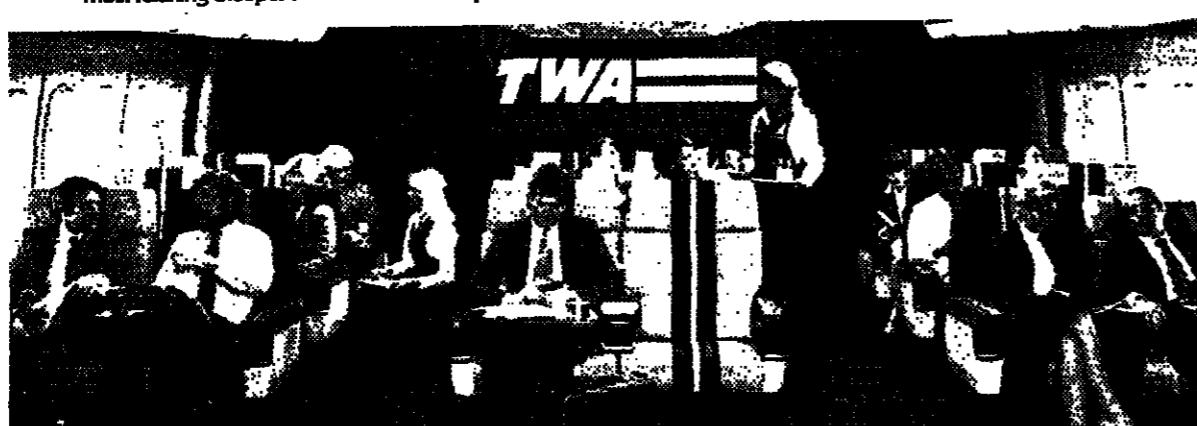
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INSIGHTS

The Bolivian Connection: Costly Effort By U.S. Fails to Cut Cocaine Production

By Jackson Diehl

Washington Post Service

LA PAZ — A costly effort by the Reagan administration to help Bolivia control illegal cocaine production has failed to produce results after being frustrated by delays, inefficiency and corruption, according to government officials and diplomats here.

Since Bolivia's return to democratic government in October 1982, the United States has pledged up to \$75 million in aid and has provided technical direction for a major crackdown on the drug trade here.

However, the illegal growing and processing of coca leaves, the raw material of cocaine, has appeared to increase during the past 15 months, drug-enforcement officials say.

Bolivia, a poor, landlocked nation of 5.8 million people, is believed to supply about half of the illegal cocaine consumed in the world. Officials say that growing areas for coca leaves have expanded without challenge in regions largely unpatrolled by police, and that suspected traffickers arrested with U.S. assistance have slipped easily through Bolivia's justice system.

A series of ambitious enforcement and crop-reduction programs funded by the United States, formally approved in August after laborious negotiations, has yet to be carried out in the field.

Enforcement authorities complain, meanwhile, that corruption has not significantly decreased under the left-of-center government of Hernán Siles Zuazo from the previous military administration, which frequently had been accused by U.S. diplomats of complicity in the drug traffic.

"There's been a step forward in that a structure has been put in place out of which something can be accomplished," said a diplomat referring to the new programs. "But no progress has been achieved."

Bolivia's drug-enforcement officials are equally pessimistic. "In the international trade we are at some distance from success," said Rafael Otazo, the nation's enforcement chief as head of the National Committee for Struggle Against Narcotics Traffic, the government agency charged with enforcement programs. "We can't control the production."

U.S. officials recently complained to top officials in President Siles' government about problems and alleged instances of corruption in the Bolivian handling of drug enforcement sources here said. The officials warned that these failings could lead to a downgrading of U.S. support for the tottering civilian administration, according to the sources.

Mr. Siles has acknowledged privately the lack of progress and has promised increased action, government sources said. Bolivian officials suggest, however, that Washington may be at fault for asking for too much while offering too little.

"We still need more resources if the Bolivian state is really going to establish authority in these zones," said Mr. Otazo, a 69-year-old former miner and political leader who took over

his enforcement post in March. "I have told the U.S. ambassador and the other visiting officials from the United States that to really combat the cocaine traffic here you would need at least \$1 billion."

U.S. and Bolivian officials agree that the country's trade in processed coca and cocaine, which began to boom about four years ago, could not be fully controlled even if the new programs were effective.

Cocaine traffic is believed to be valued at billions of dollars annually in Bolivia, and as many as 200,000 people are estimated by Mr. Otazo to be involved in the cultivation and processing of coca plants.

Authorities estimate there are at least 30 organizations in Bolivia delivering thousands of pounds of processed coca leaves to traffickers each month. In recent months, 117 clandestine airstrips for drug trafficking have been identified in the country's northern jungles.

What has frustrated U.S. and some Bolivian officials is that even the relatively small measures taken against this huge network have frequently backfired.

In the past three months, for example, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency has spent at least \$45,000 to finance three operations in

'In large part, the reason narcotics traffickers are still free is because no one can resist those dollars.'

which major trafficking suspects were arrested. In all three cases, the suspects were later released in what enforcement authorities believe were corrupt proceedings.

The most dramatic of the cases began with the arrest Nov. 13 of two suspected traffickers on a ranch in the northern Beni region during a \$40,000 operation paid for by the Drug Enforcement Agency. Bolivian police arrested the two men with a small amount of cocaine and confiscated the 13,590-acre (5,436-hectare) ranch and two small airplanes.

Government officials described the operation as the most important ever made by Bolivian police. A little more than two weeks later, however, the two men were returned from La Paz to the Beni town of Trinidad and placed under the authority of a local prosecutor. On Dec. 17 the prosecutor released them and ordered the ranch, airplanes and other goods returned.

Bolivian authorities, embarrassed by the events, have since ordered the rearrest of the suspects as well as the Trinidad prosecutor, who is reported to be in hiding.

Enforcement sources said, meanwhile, that they have received evidence suggesting that at least \$250,000 in payments were made to police and government officials in exchange for freeing the men.

"I don't know anything about it," Mr. Otazo,

the enforcement director, said when asked about the reported payments. "But it wouldn't be anything unusual. Because dollars go a long way, especially in a poor country."

In large part, Mr. Otazo added, "the reason narcotics traffickers are still free is because no one can resist those dollars."

Tension between U.S. and Bolivian officials over the arrest cases has been increased by the failure of the multimillion-dollar cocaine control programs started in August to get off the ground.

In their first phase, the U.S.-financed projects are focused on the reduction of illegal coca fields in the 4,800-square-mile (12,480-square-kilometer) Chapare region in south central Bolivia, which produces an estimated 80 percent of the 80,000 to 100,000 metric tons (85,000 to 110,000 short tons) of coca leaf believed to enter the illegal cocaine trade each year.

Following the model of a similar U.S.-financed program in Peru's eastern jungle region, the Reagan administration has made an initial commitment of \$5 million over 18 months to fund the creation and training of a 30-member national detective operation as well as a 150-member paramilitary force.

Under the program, the paramilitary outfit is to enter the Chapare region — where Bolivian police have been absent since being driven out by coca growers 16 months ago — and break up illegal traffic.

The initial appropriation also covers programs under which local farmers will be offered incentives to reduce their coca fields to about five acres. Authorities hope to route this supply only into Bolivia's relatively small legal market for coca leaf.

If a farmer refuses to accept the incentives, the police will uproot his fields.

While the coca-reduction program proceeds, the U.S. Agency for International Development has agreed to provide about \$30 million in agricultural and development projects for the Chapare region, a farming region west of Santa Cruz, in the hope of providing poor farmers with alternative crops to coca as well as a viable means of marketing them.

Even the first steps in the Chapare, however, are stalled. Bolivian authorities have failed to take several administrative measures that would allow the U.S. funds to be used, and the new police forces, although trained, have no weapons.

Some agents have not been paid in three months. No date has been set for the departure of the paramilitary force for the Chapare, a necessary first step before the aid and crop reduction programs can begin.

Many officials, moreover, are skeptical that the Chapare program can be carried out. Local leaders have warned that farmers will resist any attempt to reduce or eliminate their coca crops, and some officials and diplomats are concerned that narcotics organizations may mount their own paramilitary force to oppose the government agents.

Mr. Otazo said he thought the Chapare program could have a limited success. "But the problem is just too big," he said. "We can't control it, because narcotics trafficking has become the biggest multinational in the world."

A few blocks away, the oldest fortification in the Americas, built in 1553 to fend off pirate attacks, are being reinforced and cleaned. The government is also planning to restore the imposing Morro Castle, Havana's most impressive landmark and the object of a 44-day bombardment in 1762 when the British seized Cuba from Spain, only to return it the following year under provisions of the Treaty of Paris.

The restoration plan is being carried out in stages. The first phase, which began in 1981 and is scheduled to be completed next year, contemplates the renovation of 24 of the area's most important historical structures. The government has appropriated \$10 million for the project, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has pledged \$200,000 more.

The government of President Fidel Castro has taken pains to tie itself to Cuba's rich traditions of nationalism and patriotic pride. The restoration project under way in Old Havana is a reflection of the government's desire to instill in Cubans a greater appreciation of their past.

It is also a service to tourists, who are especially important to Cuba because they bring hard currency into the country. Every day, visitors from Canada and Western Europe can be seen trooping through Old Havana, snapping pictures of landmarks and marveling at what amounts to a living display of architecture and urban history.

During a visit to Cuba in August, UNESCO's secretary-general, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, of Senegal, declared parts of Old Havana to be the "patrimony of humanity."

The thousands of tourists who walk through its narrow streets every month would certainly agree, and even city residents themselves, who have long taken the neighborhood for granted or treated it as a virtual slum, are coming to appreciate it.

Old Havana, which covers about three square miles (7.8 square kilometers) and contains, by official estimates, about 900 historic buildings, is a trove of architectural styles. There are ornate Spanish colonial mansions, soaring baroque churches and neoclassical public buildings complete with imposing Doric columns. On a single block off the Plaza de Armas, there are outstanding examples of 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th century styles standing side by side.



A street scene in the Old Port section of Havana, a historic area of the Cuban capital that is undergoing restoration. The New York Times/Hector Tapia

Historic Old Havana Getting a Facelift

Castro Government Sees Way to Boost Cuban Pride and Foreign Tourism

By Stephen Kinzer

New York Times Service

HAVANA — The Cuban government has begun an ambitious effort to restore Old Havana, whose crumbling forts, cobblestone plazas and ornate iron balconies make it one of the historic treasures of the hemisphere.

It is a project authorities estimate will take 35 years to complete. But already the Plaza de Armas, which was the center of Cuban life until the 19th century, has been brought back to its former glory. Its most impressive edifice, the palace that housed 65 Spanish governors and later several Cuban presidents, has been converted into a museum where artifacts of Havana's history are displayed.

The cathedral's Italian baroque facade and imposing interior were crumbling as recently as a decade ago, but now the building looks as impressive as it must have when it was completed in 1777. Artists and craftsmen sell their creations at a fair held in front of the church on Saturdays. Religious services for the few practicing Roman Catholics who remain in Cuba are still held there every Sunday.

For years, the streets of Old Havana have been a traffic nightmare.

Recently, however, bus routes were redrawn so no one pass through the neighborhood, and a dozen industrial warehouses that must be serviced by heavy trucks have been relocated to other parts of the city. Sections of two important streets have been permanently closed to all motorized traffic.

Several of the city's finest restaurants are in the heart of Old Havana. The most popular in town, as it has been since Ernest Hemingway made it his hangout, is the Bodeguita del Medio, where tourists are encouraged to write their names on the walls or carve initials on the wooden tabletops.

The restoration plan is being carried out in stages. The first phase, which began in 1981 and is scheduled to be completed next year, contemplates the renovation of 24 of the area's most important historical structures. The government has appropriated \$10 million for the project, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has pledged \$200,000 more.

The government of President Fidel Castro has taken pains to tie itself to Cuba's rich traditions of nationalism and patriotic pride. The restoration project under way in Old Havana is a reflection of the government's desire to instill in Cubans a greater appreciation of their past.

It is also a service to tourists, who are especially important to Cuba because they bring hard currency into the country. Every day, visitors from Canada and Western Europe can be seen trooping through Old Havana, snapping pictures of landmarks and marveling at what amounts to a living display of architecture and urban history.

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Traditional Remedies

Historians have searched through old newspapers to find where stores and taverns stood in past centuries, and several have been restored to their original use. What was once Havana's only pharmacy has been cleaned and repainted and now sells medicinal plants and other traditional remedies. Nearby, visitors can sip mineral water at a cafe that was for many years the only place in the city where residents could buy purified drinking water.

As another part of their effort to assure that the restored Old Havana does not become a sterile museum, the authorities are encouraging families interested in historic preservation to apply to live in restored houses.

"This house has always been full of life, and it would be a pity to turn it into a dead neighborhood," said Sergio Gonzalez, deputy director of the restoration project. "We are looking for people who will love and care for these buildings, and we have had a wonderful response."

Spanish law during the colonial era specified that in colonies where the weather was cold and the sun seldom appeared, streets should be made as wide as possible to avoid creating a dreary and dark environment. But in tropical countries like Cuba, city streets were built very narrow. Visitors to Old Havana today are thus likely to be surprised when they turn an un-promising corner, after walking down a street where there is barely room to move, and suddenly come upon a bright, open square surrounded by dazzling old buildings.

Perhaps the most famous structure in the neighborhood is the Cathedral of St. Christo-

pher, which dominates a splendid plaza near the waterfront. Its cornerstone was laid in 1748 by Jesuit missionaries, but it took several decades to complete because its construction was interrupted when the Jesuits were temporarily expelled from Spain and all Spanish possessions by King Charles III.

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Another explanation current in Egyptian political circles is that Mr. Mubarak had gotten himself into a tight corner by following too closely the advice of Prime Minister Fundu-

ki, regarded by the opposition as the government's chief enemy of a real democratic opening.

Mr. Mohieddin is blamed for getting the ruling National Democratic Party to block an attempt early last year by a group of Egyptian intellectuals to set up a nucleus for a left-of-center Social Democratic Party. He is also held responsible for the passage of a law last July which makes it necessary for any party to get at least 8 percent of the vote to obtain seats in parliament, and for attempts to use party and court decrees to block the return of the Wafd, the majority party under the monarchy.

All the opposition parties were threatening earlier to boycott the May elections. Such a move would have destroyed any pretense to democracy in Egypt and opened Mr. Mubarak to the same kind of charges of one-man rule that contributed to Sada's downfall.

Mohammed Sid Ahmed, a Progressive Unionist Party leader, contends that Mr. Mubarak has realized he needs true elections to revitalized the discredited and lifeless National Democratic Party. Mr. Mubarak, he argues, has decided to use the New Wafd as the main balance to the still presumed National Democratic majority that will emerge in the expanded 458-member People's Assembly.

ARTS / LEISURE

'My Fair Lady' Look Unveiled by Ungaro

By Hebe Dorsey.

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Emanuel Ungaro has come a long way since he did somber, intellectual clothes suffused with all kinds of messages that no one could understand. Now "I want to dream," the spellbound designer said after his Tuesday morning show. His dream, with this excellent collection, may very well come true.

Despite the Henri Rousseau jungle-scene backdrop, Ungaro was

described it better than Ungaro. His most amusing ones included a black, sequined-lace dress, cut across the hips with vivid pink taffeta draping punctuated by a huge, black full-bloom rose. The boned-bodice, corset dress — another Paris favorite this season — was outlined with rhinestones and equally pretty, if less innocent.

But Ungaro pushed his luck with long, bussed and frilly costume Belle Epoque gowns. That is one look that no contemporary designer should tackle — except possibly Yves Saint Laurent, who somehow manages to pull it off. Ungaro's version was clearly not for the likes of Bianca Jagger, who sat in the audience, and not even for the dreamy, mysterious Ancou Arimee, who is Ungaro's muse.

Karl Lagerfeld, who designed his third Chanel couture collection this season, is emerging as both the magic and mystery man of Paris fashion. American department stores are worried about his leaving Chloé and are not sure what this house is going to do with its new designer, Guy Paulin. Ellen Saltzman, fashion director of Saks Fifth Avenue, said she was in town to find out, and while here, she made the round of the couture shows.

Lagerfeld will be launching his first collection under his own name at the April ready-to-wear collections so people were wondering whether this Chanel collection would show signs of it. Chanel's president, Michel Pietrini, for one, did not seem worried.

"When we hired Lagerfeld, we suspected that, some day, he'd fly on his own. But we're not worried. We've done awfully well with the ready-to-wear, up 50 percent, since Karl has been in the house. The couture also is up by 33 percent," Pietrini said.

With a lavish hand, Lagerfeld, who believes in total luxury, keeps doctoring the Chanel look — not an easy task when you're dealing with this kind of fashion opiate.

This time he may irritate Chanel purists, but Lagerfeld has tons of fashion archives and he knows what he is talking about. Instead of the short-jacket suit, which Chanel kept doing in her later years, he's gone back to a longer, leaner and softer look, with middy top over flat skirt, which she did back in the '20s. By using jersey, he came out with a little noticed navy-and-white coquettishness with the suggestion of a side drape and three stunning black-and-white checked suits.

Short evening wear is looking better than long, and nobody un-

derstands it better than Ungaro. His most amusing ones included a black, sequined-lace dress, cut across the hips with vivid pink taffeta draping punctuated by a huge, black full-bloom rose. The boned-bodice, corset dress — another Paris favorite this season — was outlined with rhinestones and equally pretty, if less innocent.

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Ungaro's dreamy Edwardian look.

'Nightshade': Bits Never Come Together

By Sheridan Morley

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Every so often, given average luck, you come across a dramatist whose failures are more intriguing than many of his contemporaries' successes. This is not to suggest that Stewart Barker is yet in the John Whiting league, but there's no doubt that his play — most of which have been done in

up that will have to be done if his play is ever to come together into a coherent picture.

As before, Parker is all over the shop: If a scene or a character doesn't seem to be working out well, we are rushed on to the next.

Along the way, certain themes do emerge and, not surprisingly, they are mainly concerned with contrasting attitudes toward death. We

start to die, in Parker's view, from the moment of birth and it is therefore curious, given all those years of practice, that we haven't learned to do it a bit better.

Accordingly, we have characters trying to die at all, some trying to prevent that death is just another overtake racket, some convinced that death can be altogether ignored.

Together they group and regroup to form intriguing patterns, one of which you keep hoping might turn out to be a play. Some

where in "Nightshade" is a magical mystery tour of the death industry, a father-day fairy tale about eternal life, a thriller about a vanishing wife and a black comedy about morticians. It's a brave, messy, intermittently funny play that lurches around in search of its center and spectacularly fails to find it.

But an admirably cool production by Peter Farago manages to

make the King's Head stage large enough to house a cast of 10, plus two sometimes vacant coffins, and Curry has been wonderfully taught to conjure by John Wade and the Great Kovari. His performance suggests that in here somewhere is a rather good study of a mortician unable to come to terms with the one thing he is in business to manage — death itself.

If a dozen of the subplots could have been saved for different evenings, we might have had something very much stronger. As it is, even Curry is reduced by the end of the evening to being a helpless stage manager, overseeing a series of random happenings many of which only tangentially concern him.

All too briefly to the main stage of the Royal Court came Sarah

Daniels's "Masterpieces," a rough

attempt in which a few scenes

of actors playing many roles in

a snuff movie by way of illustrating a sustained scream of articulate rage

against men who have found in

women's bodies dead or alive just

another profitable industry, and somewhere along the way I would have loved to meet the female owner of a gay bar.

Jules Wright's production achieved, in the moment of the train death, one of the most genuinely frightening light-and-sound effects I have ever seen on a London stage.

In a strong cast, Kathryn Pegson and Pauli Love led for the women.

With the more stereotyped and

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Daniels is a very young writer and this is a very raw play, but in its rage at a society in which pornographic tapes now make more money than feature films, where sexual aids are doing so well they should soon qualify for a Queen's Award to Industry, and where salacious nudity can still sell a lot of magazines, "Masterpieces" suggests a writer to watch.

There was perhaps something schematically too neat about a six-pack of actors playing many roles in a survey of the porn trade, which moved from a few dirty magazines in the office drawer to a snuff movie by way of illustrating a sustained scream of articulate rage

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Bethlehem, Union File Action Seeking Cuts in Steel Imports

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BETHLEHEM, Pennsylvania — Bethlehem Steel Corp. and the United Steelworkers union filed a petition Tuesday that asks the government to impose a significant reduction in steel imports, through tariffs, quotas or a mixture of both.

The filing, which could affect imports from all countries, appeared likely to fuel the disagreement between the United States and Europe over U.S. steel imports. Last week, the vice president of the European Community's Executive Commission, Etienne Davignon, warned in Washington that EC countries might end voluntary curbs on steel exports to the United States if such a complaint were filed.

The filing with the U.S. International Trade Commission was announced here by Bethlehem Steel and the United Steelworkers, and

in Washington by the trade panel. It asked that the foreign share of the U.S. steel market be reduced to 15 percent, from the most recent figure of 22.3 percent.

The complaint was filed under Section 201 of the 1974 Trade Act, which requires the trade panel to recommend that the president impose relief measures if it determines that there is a threat of economic injury to the United States.

If President Ronald Reagan agreed that there was such a threat, he could impose tariffs, quotas or both on imported steel. The measures would affect all countries, not only the Third World nations that U.S. steelmakers say have exported increasing quantities of cheaply-produced steel to the United States.

In announcing the filing of the suit, Bethlehem Steel and the steelworkers' union blamed record-high imports for "undermining" the do-

mestic industry and idling thousands of steelworkers.

"American trade policies are pushing the steel industry toward extinction, and the process is exacting a terrible human toll," said the United Steelworkers' acting president, Lynn Williams.

Bethlehem's chairman, Donald H. Trautlein, said the move was "in the interests of our stockholders, customers, suppliers and investors."

Mr. Trautlein and Mr. Williams agreed that there was such a threat, but they had asked the government to limit foreign competition to 15 percent of the U.S. market, compared with the 22.3-percent level of the past five months.

The American Iron and Steel Institute, the industry's Washington-based lobbying group, reported that in 1982, the last year for which full figures are available, imports accounted for a record-high 21.8

percent of steel sold in the United States.

The two sides asked the International Trade Commission recommend the quota to President Ronald Reagan within six months. Mr. Reagan would then have two months to approve, change or dismiss the plan.

No major steelmaker has ever sought protection under Section 201 before, according to the iron and steel institute.

In the past, steel trade suits had been brought under Section 301, which provides for relief only against imports produced with government subsidies that allow price advantages or those sold below the cost of production. U.S. Steel Corp., the largest U.S. steelmaker, has filed several such complaints.

Section 201 allows industries to get protection if they have been severely hurt by an increase in imports, regardless of whether the im-

ports have been fairly or unfairly traded.

If Mr. Reagan takes protective measures, there is a likelihood that the EC would retaliate. The complaint itself could lead the European Community to end an August 1982 agreement that limits the EC share of the U.S. market for 10 major product lines to slightly less than 6 percent.

Mr. Davignon, speaking at a news conference last Thursday in Washington, said "Europe reserves the right" to abrogate the accord, which was reached after months of talks between EC officials and Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige.

The agreement, which involves carbon and alloy steels, is scheduled to last until Dec. 31, 1985. The EC has said its restraints were negotiated with an understanding that no complaints would be filed before then.

Apple's Macintosh.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Apple Says Earnings Plunged 75%
In Quarter, Presents New Computer

CUPERTINO, California (AP) — Apple Computer Inc. has reported sharply lower profit for its fiscal first quarter, citing price cuts for its Apple II computer line, increased spending on research and marketing costs.

The company has spent heavily to develop its new Macintosh personal computer, which it introduced Tuesday at the annual meeting.

Apple said Monday that its profit totaled \$3.8 million, or 10 cents a share, in the three months ended Dec. 31. That was a 75 percent drop from the year-earlier \$23.5 million, or 40 cents a share. Sales rose 48 percent, from \$214.3 million to \$316 million.

The results marked the second consecutive quarter that Apple reported a drop in profits from the year-earlier period.

John Sculley, president and chief executive officer of Apple, predicted in November that first-and second-quarter profits would be little changed from the \$5.1-million earnings in its fiscal fourth quarter.

Trading in STC Remains Suspended

STOCKHOLM (Reuters) — Trading in Scandinavian Trading Co., in which AB Volvo has a 55-percent interest, is to remain suspended until the company announces its 1983 results on Wednesday, STC said Tuesday.

In a statement, STC said the results had been delayed because the assets of Scanditrol, its unprofitable U.S. subsidiary, were still being evaluated. STC shares were suspended Monday at the company's request. STC announced in October that it planned to sell Scanditrol as part of a major restructuring program.

Swedish newspapers reported market speculation that STC's 1983 losses may be substantially higher than the 475 million kronor (\$58 million) that it had forecast in December. The company reported a 1982 profit of 132 million kronor.

Marinduque Shuts 2d Philippine Plant

MANILA (Reuters) — Marinduque Mining & Industrial Corp. has shut its nickel plant in the central Philippines because of a lack of capital to continue operations, the company said Tuesday. The plant closure was the second to be announced by Marinduque in less than two weeks.

The plant, at Nonce in the Surigao region of the central island of Mindanao, was closed last month and is to remain idle until new funds from creditors are available, a company official said. Last week, the company said it had suspended operations at its Sipalay copper mining facility on the central island of Negros, because of a lack of funds.

Marinduque, which is among the world's largest producers of nickel, has debts of 15.5 billion pesos (\$1.1 billion) and is seeking funds from Development Bank of the Philippines and Philippine National bank.

Fisons to Buy Canadian Peat Company

LONDON (Reuters) — Fisons PLC said Tuesday that it is acquiring Langley Peat North Ltd., a privately owned peat producer in Alberta, Canada, for 9.5 million Canadian dollars (\$7.6 million).

Langley's operations will complement Fisons' existing peat extraction business in British Columbia, Manitoba and New Brunswick, it added. The transaction is expected to be completed in the first quarter, subject to final conditions and Canadian official approval.

Oy Wärtsilä Plans Share Offering

LONDON (IHT) — Oy Wärtsilä AB, the diversified Finnish shipbuilder, said it obtained shareholder approval Tuesday for an international equity offer later this year.

The company also said it plans to seek a listing for its shares on the London Stock Exchange. Wärtsilä, whose shares already are listed in Helsinki and Stockholm, said it is the first Finnish company to seek a listing in London.

Analysts noted that the group has plenty of cash for the acquisition. As of Sept. 30, cash and short-term securities totaled \$2.3 billion (\$7.4 billion), and the total is believed to have grown since then.

Shell

Oil

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Shell Oil is due to report Wednesday on its 1983 results. In the first nine months, it earned \$1.08 billion, down 7 percent from a year earlier. Analysts called the performance solid in light of the general slump in profits at domestic U.S. oil companies and predicted that Shell Oil's earnings will rebound in 1984.

The group as a whole had net income of \$1.77 billion in the first nine months, up 42 percent from a year before.

Amexco Reports Loss of \$22 Million

NEW YORK (UPI) — American Express Co. has reported a fourth-quarter loss of \$22 million that reduced earnings for the year to \$515 million, from \$581 million in 1982.

Per-share earnings for 1983 were \$2.52 a share, down from \$3.02 a share in 1982. Revenue was \$9.8 billion in 1983, up from \$8.1 billion the previous year.

The fourth-quarter loss compared with earnings of \$156 million, or 81 cents a share, in the comparable period of 1982 and was caused by a \$230-million addition to the reserves of its Fireman's Fund Insurance Co. subsidiary to cover an increase "in both the frequency and severity of claims."

'83 Was Dim Year for Big U.S. Banks

(Continued from Page 9)

But to Mr. Cohn, Morgan is too conservative. "Morgan is overcapitalized," he said, noting that although Morgan ranks first in return on assets because of its high volume of stockholder equity, for the year it ranked only fourth in terms of return on equity, and for the quarter it was third. Morgan's strong capitalization, said Mr.

Cohn, "comes out of the shareholder's hide."

Analysts said a major question is whether the banks eventually recoup the loan-loss charges against their earnings. Much will depend on whether there are heavy losses from international lending. If the large debtors, such as Brazil, can keep their payments current, the banks will be able to build the reserves more slowly in the future, enabling greater profits.

"If the recovery continues and the debtor countries demonstrate Mexico-type responsiveness to austerity programs, in all likelihood the wolf will be kept from the door," said Mr. McDermott.

Ford Motor Adds Engine

DETROIT — Ford Motor Co. said Tuesday its Lincoln-Mercury Division is adding a turbo diesel engine as an option for its 1984 Continental Mark VII and Continental passenger cars.

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2 Brokerages Plan to Cover Annuities

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Two major brokerage houses have proposed to exchange their own tax-deferred annuities for similar policies they sold for the ailing insurance subsidiaries of Baldwin-United Companies.

In separate announcements, Merrill Lynch & Co. and Prudential-Bache Securities Inc. said Monday that their proposals were voluntary, and were intended to help solve the problems created for the annuity holders when Baldwin-United fled for protection under federal bankruptcy laws last September.

Merrill Lynch, Prudential-Bache and other brokerages have been sued by some holders of the Baldwin-United policies, who argue that the investment firms should be liable for any damages because they knew the annuities were unsafe. The brokerage firms have denied any wrongdoing.

"We would like to emphasize that Merrill Lynch had no legal obligation under the policies to take these measures, but we acted to maintain the continued confidence of customers and potential customers worldwide," Merrill Lynch's chairman, Roger E. Birk, and its president, William A. Schreyer, said.

Prudential-Bache, noting it worked with Merrill Lynch to design its proposal, said it offered its exchange proposal "to help solve the problems created by Baldwin's failure which was an event that could not have reasonably been foreseen."

Merrill Lynch said its plan would result in an after-tax charge of \$48 million for the fourth quarter, causing an overall loss of \$42 million. That compares with a profit of \$142 million in the final three months of 1982.

For the full year, Merrill Lynch said the charges totaled \$83 million after taxes, which dropped its profit to \$230 million, or \$2.68 a share, from \$309 million, or \$3.79 a share, in 1982.

Prudential-Bache did not disclose how its proposal would affect its earnings, but a source close to the company said it would cost about \$15 million.

Baldwin-United is a Cincinnati-based financial-services concern, and one of its chief products was the single-premium deferred annuity that was issued by its six insurance units.

Baldwin-United's companies sold an estimated 163,000 of the annuities carrying a total face value of about \$3.7 billion.

Merrill Lynch, the largest brokerage in the United States, sold about \$750 million of that on behalf of Baldwin-United, while Prudential-Bache sold about \$380 million.

Fotomat Battling to Restore Profits

Overexpansion Blamed for Photofinisher's Problems

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Through the mid-1970s, it seemed that the world of photofinishing belonged to Fotomat Corp. Its tiny stores multiplied in shopping malls and parkings lots across the United States at the rate of 500 a year. Revenue and profit tripled in five years.

But Fotomat's fortunes have turned blacker than badly overexposed film, and in the last two years, it has watched its empire of blue and gold kiosks fall apart. One prominent industry analyst said, "I gave up on them years ago."

Fotomat reported a loss in six of the last eight quarters, including \$13.6 million in the three months ended Oct. 31. It has sold 20 percent of its stock to the Japanese company that supplies its color paper and film, and paid \$9 million to settle a three-year-old antitrust suit brought by franchisees who charged that the company had tried to drive them out of business.

Last month, after selling off two divisions and beginning the shutdown of 1,000 of its 3,800 outlets, the company announced it could not pay \$12.5 million in debt due Dec. 31.

Last week Fotomat, which is based in St. Petersburg, Florida, said it was working with three major banks on a plan to restructure its debt, which it hoped to complete by the end of next month.

Its president, Richard W. Kerman, talks of improving service and of "making our photofinishing second to none," and estimates that the company will return to profitability by the end of the 1984 fiscal year.

Analysts and experts in the photo-

graphic industry fault Fotomat for shortsightedness and overexpansion during the years of plenty, and generally question whether the company can turn around without moving away from the kiosk business.

Eugene Glazer of Dean Witter Reynolds said: "The whole concept of kiosks was overexploited in the 1970s. Eventually, they ran out of the most desirable sites, and then they started to move into less desirable ones."

But Mr. Glazer and others also point to circumstances that have forced the whole photofinishing industry to scramble for business.

Most important, they agree, were the economic recession and the decline in spending on cameras and film. Picture-taking grew at an average annual rate of 5 percent from 1978 to 1983, compared with a 12 percent average from 1971 to 1978, according to Brenda Lee Landry, an analyst at Morgan Stanley.

Many expected Eastman Kodak's disk camera, introduced early in 1982, to bring the industry out of stagnation. But the costs of new equipment needed to process the special disk film were high, and successful, the camera has not been the powerhouse that companies such as Fotomat had hoped for.

Enter the minilab, a relatively small, professional-quality processor that costs \$50,000 to \$100,000, fits in the back of a store and can produce prints from a roll of color film in under an hour. Conventional processing companies normally take two to three days to return prints, charging an additional fee for overnight service. At an average of \$1.95 for film developing and 29

cents for each print, minilabs prices are comparable to those of Fotomat, Kodak and other processors.

Since their introduction two years ago by Nortitsu Kom, a Japanese company that has produced at least half of the units now in operation, minilabs have appeared in many of the high-traffic sites that kiosks once dominated. There may be as many as 3,000 units in the United States, according to Photo Weekly, a trade publication; market share estimates range from 10 percent to 20 percent.

"These little stores have captured the fancy of a lot of consumers," said D. Carl Hamill, president of Colorcraft Corp., a Fugio Industries subsidiary that has found relative success concentrating on wholesale processing for retail stores without their own photofinishing facilities. "The kiosk has sort of been upstaged."

Fotomat has begun limited experiments with minilabs, but has said any entry into the segment would be entry into the segment.

Analysts said that the minilab's disk camera, introduced early in 1982, to bring the industry out of stagnation. But the costs of new equipment needed to process the special disk film were high, and successful, the camera has not been the powerhouse that companies such as Fotomat had hoped for.

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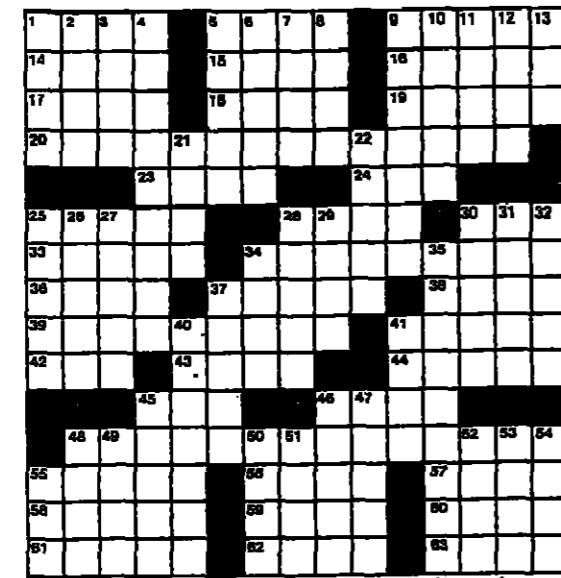
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DENNIS THE MENACE



"I HEARD A CLINK AN' A CLANK AN' I WASN'T GONNA WAIT AROUND FOR A CLUNK!"

JUMBLE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

SYBSA

LOVEC

DYFLAG

CHABRE

ANSWER

OF IT

Answer

SPORTS

Soccer Refs Could Use Rugby's Iron Hand

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — No man is an island, and it is preposterous that any sport should consider itself above learning from others. Yet soccer, facing violence and cheating that inevitably spills from society onto the game's field, still refuses to weigh its responses against those of its sporting brethren.

Last Saturday, a French rugby union player was sent off for "gouging" the face of an Irish opponent. Justice was swift and harsh: Jean-Pierre Garret was told within 24 hours that he would not touch a rugby ball for three months. Given his also being declared an imbecile by the president

of France's rugby association, Garret has good reason to doubt he will ever represent his nation again.

Next Sunday, soccer's most flagrant condonation of thuggery will be highlighted in Spain. Diego Maradona, almost whole and certainly back in scoring groove, will be in Bilbao to meet again his breaker, Andoni Goicochea. Pun-

ish will be surprised if at least one man can stop him.

Meanwhile, almost nothing soccer players do to each other is likely to be as fiercely dealt with as Garret's infraction. The only sin that will certainly bring due punishment is assault on the referee, and even that is not watertight. In Singapore, Salim Moin, a public favorite, was among six players suspended recently. His successful appeal was backed by his employer's assertion that "his soccer contribution to us is also part of his livelihood."

The referee, too, has a livelihood, whether he is attempting to control professionals in soccer or rugby players who do not admit to receiving payment. It is a real distinction in most cases, but the fear of restraint of trade should not be held higher than spirit of play.

Soccer no less than rugby must insure that justice is seen to be done. Soccer needs to concern itself more with special responsibility to impressionable youngsters than to the power complexes of aging busi-

nessmen. There is nothing the best referee on earth can do, on Sunday, the reprieved Goicochea has further malicious intent or Barcelona plans retribution — nothing but apply the full letter of the law and hope the politics of Spain's soccer hierarchy will not foul up any judgment he has the courage to make.

FIFA's objections have less to do

with the rampant worldwide disfigurement of soccer than with FIFA's having only one boss. And he, the autocratic Brazilian Joao Havelange, has just announced he intends to rule to the end of the decade by which time his "mission" will be complete. With his Third World power base, probably no one can stop him.

It will not be surprising if at

some point the referee thinks of his

Buenos Aires colleague who turned

to spectators to implore: "I am a

good husband and father and I

want to go on providing for my

wife and children, so I want to ask

if you would be pleased about a

penalty against the home team?"

Answer came there none; the pen-

alty was scored.

Apocryphal? Well, 3,000 minor-

league refs in Britain quit every

season because of injury or threats.

In Iran, a World Cup referee was

marched at gunpoint to watch a

videotape of his "error" in awarding

Kuwait a penalty. In France last

week an Algerian team walked off

before the end of an under-21

international after two Algerians

were ordered off.

Apart from the Iraqi situation

(summarily dealt with by a two-

year FIFA ban), there is far too

little support for the axiom that the

abiter is always right. Instead, at

successive World Cups, the prin-

ciple has been that a referee should

rarely be seen and never heard —

and certainly should not explain

his decisions to anyone but FIFA.

Afterwards, naturally, the stan-

dards of refereeing are officially

depreciated.

Who in his right mind would

want to referee players encouraged

to cheat, to referee without an au-

thority prepared to back its ap-

pointed on-field representative?

It is the devil's own job. On the

boots of either Maradona or the still innocently protesting Goicochea. Nor, most certainly, would I dream of dressing in black to stand between them, especially now that Bilbao is atop the Spanish League and desperate to finish off Barcelo-

na's challenge.

It will not be surprising if at some point the referee thinks of his Buenos Aires colleague who turned to spectators to implore: "I am a good husband and father and I want to go on providing for my wife and children, so I want to ask if you would be pleased about a penalty against the home team?"

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marched at gunpoint to watch a

videotape of his "error" in awarding

Kuwait a penalty. In France last

week an Algerian team walked off

before the end of an under-21

international after two Algerians

were ordered off.

Apart from the Iraqi situation

(summarily dealt with by a two-

year FIFA ban), there is far too

little support for the axiom that the

abiter is always right. Instead, at

successive World Cups, the prin-

ciple has been that a referee should

rarely be seen and never heard —

and certainly should not explain

his decisions to anyone but FIFA.

Afterwards, naturally, the stan-

dards of refereeing are officially

depreciated.

Who in his right mind would

want to referee players encouraged

to cheat, to referee without an au-

thority prepared to back its ap-

pointed on-field representative?

It is the devil's own job. On the



The Associated Press
Referee Rubio Vasquez showed the mandatory-expulsion red card to, of all people, Diego Maradona (10) in a 1982 World Cup game.

Cup Victor Stenmark Continues Hot Streak

United Press International

KIRCHBERG, Austria — Ingemar Stenmark continued his remarkable series of assembly-line victories by winning a men's World Cup giant slalom race here Tuesday by almost 1.3 seconds.

The 27-year-old Swede registered his 40th cup giant slalom race

win in 84 career starts in the

WORLD CUP SKIING

discipline — it was his 77th world cup victory in all — with two silver medals.

Stenmark's second straight giant slalom victory put him in second place in the men's overall cup standings with 145 points, 9 behind leader Pimius Zürbriggen of Switzerland. Third is Andreas Wenzel of Steinenmark with 132.

Stenmark clocked an aggregate 3 minutes, 13.96 seconds down the new snow of the Rettenstein course. Second was Marc Girardelli, racing for Luxembourg, in 3:15.21; Swedish newcomer Jörgen Sundqvist was third in 3:16.36.

Stenmark said the course, with 60 gates on the first run and 63 on the second and a drop of 392 meters (1,286 feet), was "just the kind I like — tough and fast." His 1:35.46 opened up a staggering lead of 1.22 seconds over Girardelli on the first leg and, although he did not need to put in one of his famous second-leg changes, Stenmark was fastest again (1:38.50) in the afternoon heat.

Sundqvist, 21 and in his second year on the circuit, registered his best World Cup finish by far. Yugoslav Jure Franko finished fourth in 3:16.48 and local star Guido Hinterstoisser was fifth in 3:16.68.

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In the end, the spirit of play is in the hands of clubs and players, so I welcomed a recent announcement: "Our club has just produced a barbaric performance. If it happens again, I'll close the club." Soccer? Don't be silly. The words came from Gary Newbou, chairman of Solihull Barons, a minor English ice hockey team.

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professional status, Stenmark said he will race this weekend in a giant slalom at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, West Germany, a race he has not won because of its similarity to the downhill. But the lure of combination points and the possibility of winning a fourth overall cup title, now that defending champion Phil Mahre of the United States seems out of the running, seems to have changed his mind.

"I'm not angry about missing the Olympics," Stenmark said. "I'm skiing exceptionally well these days."

Mahre, who admits to having his mind on the impending birth of his second child, nonetheless had his best result of the season. He placed seventh in 3:16.89, 9-hundredths of a second behind sixth-placed Thomas Bürki of Switzerland.

"I'm having much better results than I did in December," Mahre said. "Things seem to be getting better for me in terms of racing."

MEINERS GIANT SLALOM

1. Ingemar Stenmark, Sweden, 1:35.46-
2. Marc Girardelli, Luxembourg, 1:36.28-
3. Jörgen Sundqvist, Sweden, 1:37.49-
4. Jure Franko, Yugoslavia, 1:38.78-1:40.70-
5. Guido Hinterstoisser, Austria, 1:38.72-
6. Thomas Burki, Switzerland, 1:39.21-
7. Phil Mahre, U.S., 1:36.97-1:39.92-
8. Andre Wenzel, Sweden, 1:37.63-1:39.56-
9. Alain Gérard, Italy, 1:38.00-1:40.84-
10. Egon Hirt, West Germany, 1:38.91-
11. Giorgio Vassalli, Yugoslavia, 1:37.71-1:40.84-
12. Hubert Ströbl, Austria, 1:37.71-1:41.10-
13. Stefan Reindlberger, Austria, 1:37.74-
14. Gregor Benedik, Yugoslavia, 1:37.70-
15. Bohumír Krásl, Yugoslavia, 1:37.59-1:41.41-
16. Vojtěch Šimáček, Czechoslovakia, 1:37.59-1:41.41-
17. Pavel Šimáček, Czechoslovakia, 1:37.59-1:41.41-
18. Anton Strelc, Austria, 1:37.59-1:41.41-
19. Urs Röber, Switzerland, 1:37.59-1:41.41-
20. Guido Gruber, Austria, 1:37.59-1:41.41-
21. Karel Kříž, Czechoslovakia, 1:37.59-1:41.41-
22. Erwin Resch, Austria, 1:37.59-1:41.41-

MEINERS OVERALL STANDINGS

1. Pimius Zürbriggen, Switzerland, 154 points

2. Stenmark, 145

3. Andreas Wenzel, Liechtenstein, 142

4. Anton Strelc, Austria, 113

5. Girardelli, 104

6. Urs Röber, Switzerland, 104

7. Guido Hinterstoisser, Switzerland, 98

8. Franko, 97

9. Sundqvist, 96

10. Mahre, 95

11. Wenzel, 95

12. Burki, 95

13. Stenmark, 95

14. Girardelli, 95

15. Newbou, 95

16. Hinterstoisser, 95

17. Ströbl, 95

18. Benedik, 95

19. Šimáček, 95

20. Šimáček, 95

21. Kříž, 95

22. Resch, 95

23. Gruber, 95

24. Kříž, 95

25. Kříž, 95

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OBSERVER

The Dandruff Crisis

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Christopher Camp of Gilbert's Ford, Maryland, has been watching the evening television news and is angry about what he is not seeing. He writes:

"Not long ago, while shaving in front of a brightly lit mirror, I noticed that I had dandruff in my eyebrows."

"For several weeks my vision had seemed sort of — well — dusty. When I removed the eyeglasses, I noticed the lenses seemed to be spotted with little flecks of white dust."

"When something like that happens, naturally you always fear the worst. Could I have some dreadful disease? I wondered, that makes the eyebrows emit a slight, but constant stream of white dust? I made appointments to see my doctor and have a lawyer put my will in order."

"You can imagine my relief at discovering it was nothing but a case of dandruff in the eyebrows. This relief soon turned to nagging worry, though, as the social peril of being seen with unsightly dandruff on my eyebrows became apparent."

"As a student of advertising, I was aware that many excellent men had lost not only job promotions, but also the women of their dreams, because of dandruff on their jacket collars."

"What was needed, clearly, was an eyebrow-dandruff remover. Oh, I knew about dandruff-remover shampoos for the hair, but I was nervous about using them on my eyebrows."

"I never shampooed my eyebrows. I never even thought about my eyebrows. Thinking about them now, however, I realized that eyebrow hair must be different from scalp hair, just as whisker hair, arm hair and those little hairs inside the nose are different."

"I have never heard anyone — anyone at all — say that shampooing is good for the little hairs inside the nose. It seemed possible that shampooing the eyebrows with dandruff-removing juices might be just as pointless and perhaps dangerous."

"Naturally I started watching the evening television news. The news shows, I have noticed, constitute the favorite advertising kiosk for goods needed by decrepit hu-

manity: denture adhesives, laxatives, stomach alkalinizers, lumbago nostrums, headache relievers, arthritis pills. I viewed carefully.

"As a result, I now know a small thing or two about the mess in Lebanon and am au courant with President Reagan's daily comings and goings. I am also aware for the first time that one can now purchase an antacid that doesn't contain sodium."

"All this had led to mildly interesting reflections. It was interesting, for example, to learn about the new antacid without sodium, since I had never known that the old antacids contained sodium. I was happily surprised when asked by the salesmen if there was sodium in my antacid, to discover that I didn't care if there was sodium in it."

"It is rare nowadays when I am incessantly bombarded with doomsday warnings to hear one that doesn't reduce me to gibbering despair. For a week or more, whenever the man on the evening news asked, 'Is there sodium in your antacid?' I delighted in shouting, 'I don't care whether there's sodium in my antacid!'

"After two weeks, this pleasure had faded. So had my interest in watching President Reagan waving en route to helicopters. I had got the point: We had a president who could ride a helicopter with equanimity. What I had not got was a single tip on how to treat eyebrow dandruff."

"In the third week the news industry's failure to give the full picture began to enrage me. One night when the usual man asked, 'Is there sodium in your antacid?' I rose from the chair and screamed, 'There's dandruff in my eyebrows, you imbecile! Sell me something to remove it!'

"Now my family won't let me watch the news. The dandruff is now coming down so thick I can't see the TV anymore. Is it any wonder the American people are fed up with the news industry?"

In hope of restoring Mr. Crump's faith — at least in the printing division of the news industry — I have written to suggest that he shave off his eyebrows. It could create a new fashion and make him a celebrity.

New York Times Service

Freud and His 'Seduction Theory'

His Doubts on Early-Sexual-Trauma Doctrine Ignite Controversy

By Ralph Blumenthal
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Newly revealed letters and long-secret documents provide further indications of Sigmund Freud's anguish and self-doubt over his first major theory and new evidence of efforts to cover up his doubts.

In the view of the scholar who made the material available to The New York Times, the documents establish "a failure of courage" on Freud's part and show that personal considerations, long shielded from scholars, prompted Freud to abandon that early tenet, the so-called seduction theory.

His view is vigorously disputed by other Freud experts. The scholar, Jeffrey Mousenoff Masson, was formerly the projects director for the Sigmund Freud Archives and was to have become its next director, but he was dismissed in 1981 in a dispute over interpretation of other controversial Freud material.

The new material shows, among other things, that Freud, in the last years before his death in 1939, sought to suppress the work of a colleague, Sandor Ferenczi, who had what Freud and others in the psychoanalytic movement regarded as heretical views — views that in some ways paralleled Freud's own early work on the seduction theory.

Ferenczi, in turn, wrote in a diary, never previously made public, that Freud came to consider patients "Gesetzlich," or triflaff, and that he believed Freud had lost faith in the curative value of psychoanalysis.

The new material has been assembled from a series of interviews, from a reading of the letters and documents and from a book Masson has just completed on the subject. The book, titled "The Assault on the Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory," was published this week by Farrar, Straus & Giroux, and an excerpt appears as the cover story in the February issue of The Atlantic magazine.

The somewhat mishandled seduction theory that Freud first developed in Vienna nearly a century ago traced mental illness to repressed memories of sexual abuse (not really seduction) suffered in early childhood and released by other events. Later Freud decided that the traumas were usually universal sexual fantasies of the patients projected backward from adulthood. The later view, embodying the Oedipus complex, has dominated psychoanalysis with far-reaching implications, ever since.

Masson contends that Freud's patients were in fact telling the truth. In espousing that view, the researcher stands virtually

alone in the psychoanalytic community. "The lies," Masson maintains, were not the patients' but "came from Freud and the whole psychoanalytic movement."

Masson contends that, by doubting the reality of a patient's early memories of trauma, today's psychoanalyst, like Freud, "does violence to the inner life of his patient and is in covert collusion with what made her ill" in the first place.

"The silence demanded of the child by the person who violated her (or him) is perpetuated and enforced by the very person to whom she has come for help," he asserts. "Guilt entrenches itself, the uncertainty of one's past deepens, and the sense of who one is is undermined."

Other Freud scholars and analysts, queried about Masson's assertions, take strong exception.

"Poppycock!" said Frank R. Hartman, a Manhattan psychiatrist. "Freud realized he made a mistake in attributing all neurosis to repressed memories of actual abuse. He discovered a much broader theory which explained much more."

Another critic, Kurt R. Eissler, who has been head of the Freud Archives and who, with Freud's daughter, Anna, ousted Masson as projects director in 1981, said Freud gave up his seduction theory only because "he found out it was wrong." He said Freud did not doubt the reality of childhood sexual trauma but decided it did not explain all neuroses.

Masson, 42, a nonpracticing psychoanalyst with a Ph.D. in Sanskrit studies from Harvard University, is now living and writing in Berkeley, California.

Much of the coveted Freud material held by the Freud Archives still remains available to scholars. That includes at least 75,000 items stored in the United States Library of Congress to which public access has been prohibited, in some cases, into the 22d century.

In a settlement with the archives after his dismissal, Masson was permitted to make use of some of the documents he had already seen as projects director. He also completed preparation of the first unabridged edition of Freud's letters to Fliess (with the exception of some patient names, which were changed), to be published by Harvard University Press in about a year.

Anna Freud, who died in 1982, always

considered the letters highly sensitive, as

unpublished letters of her own to Max Scherl, Freud's physician and biographer, reveal. Speaking of her father, Anna Freud wrote in German: "He never had the least inclination to publish the letters, and one would do him an injustice to ascribe to him such a wish even in the unconscious."

The new material contains a wealth of historical revelations, great and small, including these:

• A patient Freud treated in 1900 and then dismissed as a case of paranoia ended up hanging herself in a hotel room.

• Freud gave extraordinary credence to

Fliess' zany theory of periodicity, in which isolated events — such as good days and

bad days — are somehow said to be linked to female and male cycles of precisely 28 and 23 days. Freud went so far as to relate it to periods of his own sexual impotence.

• Freud was excited by money. It is, he wrote in one letter, "laughing gas for me."

A collection of letters Freud wrote to Fliess were published in 1950 in a book titled "The Origins of Psychoanalysis." But 116 of the letters were withheld and many of those that were published were abridged.

Anna Freud and the other editors wrote then: "The selection was made on the principle of publicizing everything relating to the writer's scientific work and scientific interests and everything bearing on the social and political conditions in which psychoanalysis originated and of omitting or abbreviating everything publication of which would be inconsistent with professional or personal confidence."

Masson says he asked Anna Freud while he was serving as projects director why her father's later references to the seduction theory were stricken from the letters. She replied, he says, that since Freud eventually abandoned the theory, "it would only prove confusing to readers to be exposed to his early hesitations and doubt."

Freud first proclaimed his seduction theory on April 21, 1896, before Vienna's prestigious Society for Psychiatry and Neurology to which he presented a revolutionary paper, "The Aetiology of Hysteria," tracing hysterical symptoms to "the memory of earlier experiences awakened in association to it."

Freud clearly believed in his theory at that time.

On Jan. 12, 1897, in a letter omitted altogether from the published collection, Freud asked Fliess for any cases he had encountered linking childhood convulsions to sexual abuse by a nurse. His newest finding, Freud wrote, "is that I am able to trace back with certainty a patient's attack that merely resembled epilepsy to such treatment" by the nurse.

Freud then cited another patient who suffered convulsions before the age of 1, and he added: "Two younger sisters are completely healthy, as though the father (whom I know to be a loathsome fellow) had convinced himself of the damaging effects of his caresses."

Freud wrote, in another newly disclosed letter: "Unfortunately, my own father was one of these perverts and is responsible for the hysteria of my brother (all of whose symptoms are identifications) and those of several younger sisters." And in a hint of the reversal to come he added: "The frequency of this circumstance often makes me wonder."

In a published and much-studied letter of Sept. 21, 1897, Freud wrote Fliess to confide the "great secret" that "has been slowly dawning on me in the last few months."

He explained, "I no longer believe in my neurotica," that is, the seduction theory.

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